

This is the first issue that I have done all the make-up work on by myself. I'm not too pleased with the way the front page looks.

The Southern Frontier

We dedicate ourselves to the task of doing the most and the best that can be done here and now.

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A Newspaper Man Looks At His City

By BARRY BISHOP*

The Chinese are said to write the word crisis with two characters, one meaning danger and another opportunity. We could borrow that ideograph to describe our country's position on interracial relations.

Racial Tensions

"The vast population movements that have occurred during the war have created problems that gravely threaten widespread civil disorder in the near future and in the early postwar years," Clarence E. Ridley, Chicago, executive director of the International City Managers Association, wrote recently in the preface to an important pamphlet on 'Police and Minority Groups' prepared by two experts.

"New job opportunities for members of minority groups, the competition among workers for war-scarce consumer goods, housing, transportation, recreation—these and other factors may lead to increased antagonism between racial, religious, or national groups. Such a situation in a community may result in serious disorders if it is not handled with care and understanding. The danger will be especially great if there is an extensive or extended unemployment after the war."

Walter Davenport, writing in *Collier's* for Sept. 23, said Negroes have "declared flatly that in postwar America they are not going to return to their prewar social and economic status." He stressed the tenseness in Harlem, Philadelphia, Detroit, St. Louis, Chicago, and Los Angeles.

What Do the Negroes Want?

Virginius Dabney, editor of the Richmond (Va.) *Times-Dispatch*, said Negroes "are not asking for an overnight revolution in race relations, or anything remotely approaching it. They wish to obtain for the southern Negroes a better share in the good things of life—better education, better health, better welfare, better jobs, better opportunities. They are not seeking 'social equality,' but equality before the law."

The National Urban League, an organization working for better economic and social conditions for Negroes, gave in New York recently its view that most of the racial problems "can be traced directly back to lack of planning for housing, recreation, child care and education." Add to these wishes the desire for better economic

and political opportunities and you have the Negro desires for the most part, as expressed by their leaders.

Solving such problems as housing and seeing that the Negro gets equality of public facilities under segregation—which most white people wish to retain and most people admit will be with us for a long time—will go far in achieving better interracial relations.

Immediate Action Needed

There are some steps that can be taken here in Dallas to improve these relations, or at least prevent them from becoming worse until education and other factors have helped us attain better understanding.

Housing

First, an adequate housing program should be developed in Dallas. Private agencies should take the lead in evolving a definite plan giving Negroes opportunities to develop residential districts on as pretentious a scale as they can afford or wish to have. There have been some steps like this taken in Dallas during the war and others may be planned. Dallas has plenty of land and this is a fairly simple aim.

Statistics show that Negroes often pay as much per room for a shack without any modern conveniences as the white man does for a home in the finer sections. A two-room Negro shack with outside toilet and perhaps a hydrant in the small yard, renting for \$4 a week—\$16 a month or \$8 a room a month—is on the same basis as \$50 a month for a nice six-room house with tiled bath, hot water heater and other conveniences.

For those who cannot pay economic, profit-making rents to private capital, there is a definite place in the picture for the Dallas Housing Authority to function. The DHA can serve a valuable purpose in eliminating slums as well as in providing genuine low-rent projects. Private enterprise and public housing slum clearance both have a place in this picture.

Second, Dallas has a minimum standards housing ordinance but it has not been enforced. It should be strengthened and enforced rigidly. If Dallas can win national honors in traffic through a program of education, engineering, and enforcement, if it can make great progress in fire prevention by the same methods which have even led to padlocking business houses, Dallas certainly can eliminate bad housing and slums so that the basic causes for

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The Primary Question

Less than one month after its repeal of the poll tax, the Georgia legislature is taking steps to remove from the state constitution all regulations governing primary elections. This is an effort to circumvent the Supreme Court ruling in the case of *Smith v. Allwright* that the exclusion of Negroes from party primaries conducted under state statutory authority is unconstitutional. The appeal printed below was sent to Governor Arnall by four Negro citizens, A. T. Walden, president of the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs; C. L. Harper, president of the Atlanta branch NAACP; John Wesley Dobbs, president of the Atlanta Civic and Political League; and C. A. Scott, editor of the Atlanta Daily World.

"Commend your administration generally and especially elimination of poll tax barrier to franchise. But, judging from action of House and Senate, new Constitution will have no laws protecting primaries. This will invite all kinds of occupation and eventual loss of respect and confidence in elections. Can the white leaders of Georgia be responsible for knowingly inviting this situation and setting the state back fifty years in an effort to prevent Negro Democrats voting in the primary? We honestly believe the type of Negro vote interested in voting in the Democratic primary will be loyal to his moral obligation. Great majority of Negroes in Georgia supported the Democratic party November 8 as a gesture of good faith, despite their refusal of votes in July 4 primary.

"Will the Democratic legislature meet the Negro half way? The way to meet this question is not by trying to circumvent the Supreme Court decision but to set reasonable qualifications that will apply to all citizens alike, without regard to race. The primary needs more protection, not less.

"We hope you will appreciate our position on this vital American right to vote and will support actively laws to protect primary. Georgia can only make sound progress as white and Negro citizens have a feeling of goodwill and co-operation. Hope this primary question will be reconsidered."

Copies of this telegram were also sent to the Senate President and the Speaker of the House.

*Last year Barry Bishop, City Hall reporter for the Dallas Morning News, toured the North and East and wrote ten special articles on race relations. His tenth article, dealing with conditions in Dallas, was published in the Dallas Morning News, November 29, 1944, under the title "It's Our Problem Now," and is reprinted here by permission.

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Howard W. Odum President
P. B. Young Vice-President
Homer P. Rainey Vice-President
Carter Wesley Vice-President
Charles S. Johnson Chmn. of Executive Com.
Guy B. Johnson Executive Director
Ira DeA. Reid Associate Executive Director
Emily H. Clay Secretary-Treasurer

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To attain through research and action programs
the ideals and practices of equal opportunity
for all peoples in the region.

Editorial

Bigotry and intolerance have had an accursed history in the United States. Not one race or nationality entered our ports in large numbers without feeling the impact of our organized or individual resentment because of its nationality, race, religion, or political conviction. Such intolerance has existed despite our high and estimable social, religious, and political creeds. Yet, the United States is the best example of a civilization built by peoples of diverse races and cultures.

The problem of differences between the various cultures of the white peoples has, with the exception of the Jews, been fairly well resolved. The one big remaining challenge to the fundamental thesis of democracy is the full and complete adjustment of the colored peoples within the framework of a new world civilization. This is the task that faces all persons who seek to promote tolerance and brotherhood.

In our world, racial hatred is very bitter and real between the white and colored races. Its manifestations can no longer be exorcised by mere words. Since hate and prejudice and discrimination have become determinants of the way our economic, political, social, even religious institutions operate, their dissolution demands deeds to be done as well as words to be spoken.

The sudden and wide dispersal of men throughout the world in a gigantic spasm of war has made evident many more bitter truths about the presence of race hatred here and abroad. Our own treatment of Japanese-Americans at the outbreak of the war can be ranked no higher than an atrocity. Our treatment of Negroes at all times is such a national disgrace that it threatens our country's effectiveness in its international relations. We are by no means free from anti-Semitism, South or North. And as we move abroad we realize that the white world has aroused the extreme resentment of black, brown, and yellow peoples. In the Orient, India, Africa, and other parts of the world, the supposedly inferior black and yellow peoples are trying to overthrow white rule and assert their independence. The world may have to pay a heavy price within the next

Clark County, Alabama

The Editors

In mid-December the *Clarke County Democrat* of Grove Hill, Alabama, published the photographs of 173 Negro men from that county who were then in the Army, Navy, and Marine services of their country. It was a pictorial presentation unparalleled so far as we know in the American weekly press. The photographs covered the major part of 8 pages, each service man being identified by name, family, length of time in the service, and present location. Elsewhere on these pages were the advertisements of 5 Clarke County business houses, which thanked Negroes for their patronage, expressed satisfaction over the marvelous record "their Negroes" had made in the war, and invited their patronage when all was done over there. On another page was the picture of the "Clarke County, Alabama" a fighter plane so named because of the county's successful sale of War Bonds.

The whole story interested us. We began to study the individual histories of Clarke County's Negro service men. First of all, we noticed that there was not a commissioned officer among them, though there were 43 non-commissioned officers. Then we saw that 58 of these 173 men were listed as the sons of mothers, 16 of fathers, and 5 as grandchildren. No direct family connections were given for 10 others. Apparently more than half of these men were from broken family settings. Then we noted where these boys were stationed in Wyoming, Texas, Washington, Nebraska, Arizona, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts, in France, England, India, Iran, Italy, Germany, Corsica, New Guinea, Hawaii, and the South Pacific. As we imagined the experiences of these men in scattered and diverse cultures we wondered what home, Clarke County, meant to them. We explored.

Clarke County is situated in the southwestern section of Alabama. It is a cotton and corn county, having a population of 27,636 in 1940, of which 14,417 or 52.2% were Negroes. It is one of the few counties in the South where Negroes outnumber whites. In 13 of its 22 precincts there are more Negroes than whites. Forty-five years ago the proportion of Negroes was much higher, there being 1,324 Negroes to every 1,000 whites.

few years, for an attempt to settle this question of race.

Yet there is some hope. We must work to overcome prejudices and their organized institutions. People must be educated to the realization that no race is universally inferior to another, and that all races are entitled to an equal chance in this world. If those of us who this month preach and teach brotherhood would spread the true knowledge about races and practice the pragmatic tests of that knowledge, we would lessen the feeling of strangeness within and between races and thereby reduce race fear and race hatred.

The *Statistical Atlas of Southern Counties*, using statistics for the 1930-1940 decade, showed that Clarke County spent \$24.66 for the education of each white child enrolled in its schools and \$3.38 for each Negro pupil. The ratio of Negro-white expenditures was 13.7. At that time 93% of the white children and 80% of the Negro children between 7 and 13 years of age were in school. The average value of the white schools was \$4,537, of the Negro schools \$555.55. In every 1,000 white people there were approximately 38 illiterates while there were 262 illiterates among a similar number of Negroes in 1930. But in addition to all this, the county's lynching rate of 15.38 for the period 1900-1931 was second highest of the state's 67 counties.

So as we looked we wondered how 172 Negro service men reacted to this pictorial news from home after having been to new places and seen strange things. One, at least, has no reaction. Clinton Holloway, son of Lim Holloway, Sr., of Grove Hill, Route 2, who, although under age, volunteered to fight for the four freedoms, was killed in action when his ship, the U. S. S. Plymouth, was sunk off the east coast of the United States. But his older brother, Lim Holloway, Jr., is now stationed at an Air Base somewhere in the Southwest Pacific. He may have an opinion.

Conference of State
Interracial Committee Heads

On invitation of the Executive Directors of SRC, the chairmen, or authorized representatives, of the ten active state interracial commissions in the South met at SRC headquarters in Atlanta on February 1.

Those attending the conference were: *Alabama*, J. T. Brooks, Montgomery; *Florida*, Mrs. Henry Havens, Jacksonville; *Georgia*, R. L. Russell, McDonough; *Kentucky*, W. W. Stout, Fisherville; *Louisiana*, M. C. D'Argonne, New Orleans; *Mississippi*, F. C. Willcoxon, Vicksburg; *North Carolina*, Ernest J. Arnold, Durham; *South Carolina*, Marion A. Wright, Conway; *Texas*, Austin L. Porterfield, Ft. Worth; *Virginia*, Thomas C. Allen, Richmond. Guy B. Johnson, Ira DeA. Reid and Emily H. Clay represented SRC.

The purposes of the conference were (1) to give the state representatives a chance to exchange ideas and (2) to discuss the relation of SRC to the state interracial organizations. The participants were unanimous in their feeling that the meeting was profitable. Considerable progress was made toward working out closer cooperation between SRC and the state groups. SRC executives were more than pleased with the outcome of the conference, and they expressed a desire to make the conference an annual affair.

A Day Nursery Project In Virginia *

All mothers work. Some, however, must work outside the home to provide food and clothes and shelter for the family. When this happens children suffer. In the long run the community also suffers from the resulting maladjustment and delinquency which are rooted in this situation.

The Janie Porter Barrett Day Nursery in Charlottesville, Virginia, is solving this problem for Negro mothers. From thirty to fifty boys and girls, two to six years old, arrive at this nursery six mornings a week at eight A. M. They are cared for by three experienced and well-trained Negro teachers until six o'clock at night. If the children have not had breakfast at home they get it at school. Lunch—carefully prepared, nourishing food—is served at an attractive table where the children have an opportunity to learn and practice good table manners, and such niceties as grace before food.

During the day, through supervised work and play these children acquire habits of cleanliness, courtesy, and consideration for others. Each child has his own bright, colored toothbrush, his own neatly hung towel, and his own canvas cot for the afternoon nap.

Day Nursery Sponsors

Barrett Day Nursery had its beginning in the vision of one woman—a Negro nurse who recognized in the homes she visited the need for child care where mothers worked outside the home. She was offered a house rent-free until some method of financing a program could be found. In this house she started a day nursery. When the Emergency Education Program of the Federal government was set up, her project was taken over and run for six years as a nursery school supported by WPA funds.

This support was withdrawn in January of 1943. The need for the nursery school not only continued, but, with increased war employment, became steadily more pronounced. Under the leadership of Dr. Frank D. Daniel, a self-appointed advisory committee of interested Negro women succeeded in getting the Department of Public Welfare to sponsor the program as a day nursery under the provisions of the State Child Care Committee. The advisory Board grew into a Board of Directors of five Negro and five white members.

Tuition Charged

This Day Nursery is not free. The Board has no desire to relieve parents of responsibility they should and can carry for themselves. Regular tuition of one dollar a week is charged for each child. In the original plan both the mother and her employer were asked to pay half of this charge, since each benefited from the service. Response to this was excellent, but at present practically all of the mothers pay the full tuition rather than letting their

employers pay half. There are some cases where the mother, because of inadequate income, is not able to pay anything. No child is admitted free. But there is a scholarship committee of three Negro women who investigate such cases, and recommend whole or partial scholarships. So long as this scholarship fund exists no child who should be cared for will be excluded because of lack of money in the home.

With the exception of the tuition raised each month, all of the day nursery support comes from the Community Chest. It is one of the most popular agencies on the Chest list. There are many individual and group contributions of food and toys. A little club of children supplies paper napkins. A woman's organization gives the cod-liver oil. A men's club supplies the fuel. Many people give surplus garden produce.

The Janie Porter Barrett Day Nursery is not elaborate. Its facilities are modest and its space and funds are limited. Ingenuity and cooperation have taken the place of expensive equipment. But it has succeeded in filling in Charlottesville, Virginia, a need which exists in all communities where mothers work outside the home. We recommend the day nursery as a project highly worthwhile for any interracial group.

Meeting of the SRC Board of Directors

On January 31 the Board of Directors of SRC met in Atlanta to complete the transaction of business which was carried over from the annual meeting of December 6. This business included reports of four of the standing committees (Fellows, Finance, Publications, and Public Relations), the election of officers and executives for 1945, and consideration of the Council's program.

The present officers and executives were reelected. Two new additions were made to the Board of Directors. They were the Rt. Rev. Charles Clingman of Louisville, and President Rufus B. Atwood of Kentucky State College at Frankfort. Mr. Edmund M. Preston was elected to the Executive Committee.

The Executive Directors presented two special memoranda for consideration, one dealing with a program for students and the other with a proposed study of segregation and discrimination. These were approved. Other program activities, as presented at the annual meeting, were discussed and authorized within the limits of available funds and personnel.

Thirty-two board members attended the meeting. They were: *Alabama*, Dr. F. D. Patterson; *Florida*, Mrs. Henry Havens, Mr. G. D. Rogers; *Georgia*, Dr. Horace Mann Bond, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Mr. Leonard Haas, Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton, Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, Dr. George S.

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Dr. Odum Gets Award for Race Relations Work

Because of his accomplishments in improving Negro-White relations in the South, and for outstanding public service as an author and professor, Dr. Howard Odum has been chosen to receive the Edward L. Bernays Award for Outstanding Achievement in Negro-White Relations.

Dr. Odum is President of the Southern Regional Council, and Kenan Professor for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina. The award, a \$1,000 United States Savings Bond, and an engrossed scroll were donated by Edward L. Bernays, of New York, counsel on public relations, through the Department of Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. It was presented in public ceremonies on February 12, at the Broadway Tabernacle in New York City.

The judges who selected Dr. Odum from among 55 candidates were: Dean William H. Hastie, Howard University School of Law, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill, president, State Teachers' College, Cheney, Pa.; Virginius Dabney, editor, *Richmond Times-Dispatch*; Mrs. Dorothy Canfield Fisher, author, Arlington, Vt.; and Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay, professor emeritus, Columbia University.

Dr. Odum was born in Bethlehem, Georgia, in 1884, received Ph.D. degrees from Clark University in 1906 and Columbia University in 1910, and LL.D. degrees from Emory and Harvard Universities. He has held professorships at Emory and the University of Georgia, and since 1920 has been head of the Department of Sociology at the University of North Carolina.

Mr. Bernays, donor of the award, is a pioneer in public relations and author of *Propaganda*, *Crystallizing Public Opinion*, *Speak Up for Democracy*, and the forthcoming *Your Place at the Peace Table*. He has given a number of awards to further democracy in this country.

Mayor of Durham Appoints Interracial Committee

As the result of a petition presented by local citizens Mayor W. F. Carr of Durham, North Carolina, has appointed a Committee on Interracial Affairs. James O. Cobb was named temporary chairman of the Committee.

The petition read as follows: "We, the undersigned citizens, hereby respectfully petition you to appoint a commission of representative citizens from the various civic, social, and religious organizations of Durham, both white and Negro, said commission to make a thorough study of all issues affecting relations between our white and Negro citizens, to make recommendations as to the best means of dealing with situations which need to be changed, to refer such recommendations to the proper organization for implementation, and to

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*This account is based upon a University of Virginia Extension Division publication, "Children of Women Who Work" (New Dominion Series, No. 38, Sept. 15, 1943) and upon later information obtained from Dr. Frank D. Daniel of Charlottesville, Va.

A Newspaper Man Looks At His City

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many social problems are erased. An enforced minimum standards ordinance will help take the profit out of slums—and without profit they will tend to disappear.

Schools

Third, Dallas should see that educational opportunities for Negroes are kept on a high plane. One of the greatest needs, Negroes say, is for more technical, commercial, and industrial training to fit their children for business and industry. They are especially interested in having these courses started as early in a child's school career as possible to cover those who do not finish high school. Negro leaders also desire ROTC training, for they consider this very valuable in teaching Negroes to accept responsibilities.

Health and Recreation

Fourth, Dallas should see that health, park, and recreational facilities are provided and maintained for Negroes under segregation. Dallas apparently has a fairly good record in this line. Excellent opportunities to improve health facilities should come in the proposed city-county hospital building program where an all-Negro unit is planned which will provide opportunities for training nurses and physicians. Park board plans to improve their facilities for Negroes are progressing rapidly, with land purchases and improvements already under way in several sections of the city.

Transportation

Fifth, Negroes should be assured their fair share in facilities on public transportation in keeping with segregation laws. Too often Negroes do not have their proportionate seating on streetcars and busses as white passengers arbitrarily move segregation signs. The Dallas Railway & Terminal Company should correct this situation through positive instructions to operators, for only by providing comparatively ample seating can segregation be supported morally or legally. Better loading facilities for lines with heavy Negro patronage also are highly desirable.

Law Enforcement

Sixth, Negroes should be assured impartiality in law enforcement. The desire of Negro leaders for law enforcement to be applied as equally to them as on white citizens is reasonable and they are especially eager to see better enforcement applied to crimes committed by Negroes on their own people. The use of Negro police could at least be given a trial in Dallas. Officials of many other cities praise work of Negro policemen and the plan has been used for years elsewhere in Texas.

Interracial Committees

Seventh, continue the work of a strong interracial relations committee to work on friction and with various groups on a continuous program for better relations. The wartime committee here, headed by C. F.

O'Donnell, could be continued with great advantage as a permanent organization because the old problems probably will have many new angles in the postwar period.

The Negro's Responsibility

Finally, Negroes must realize that they themselves have some of the greatest responsibilities of the entire program. White citizens can take the lead in providing equal facilities and economic opportunities for Negroes under segregation—and segregation is to be here for a long time. But Negroes must rise to their responsibilities with greater vigor than they have ever shown before. If Negroes are to get better economic and social advantages they must first be qualified to have them and then have the moral responsibility to hold them.

You get the idea in the North that the Negroes have failed, somehow, to meet their opportunities and responsibilities there. And because of that, the whites in many cases detest the Negroes and yearn for segregation. Too often, white employers complain that Negroes will not accept responsibility and do the work white people are accustomed to do. The Negro must try by good work to fit so well into industry that management will see no economic advantage and perhaps even disadvantage in laying him off.

There also is little place for the "smart aleck" Negro, although no Negro need be subservient. The Negro who antagonizes whites uselessly by arrogant misuse of power and opportunity is one of the greatest hindrances to better interracial feeling.

America's Opportunity

America has never been daunted by any problem it has faced squarely. If we can destroy tyrants, we can destroy blight and slums that would shackle a people. If we can build the greatest air and sea armadas in history, we can build decent homes. If our genius can discover antidotes and cures for disease and create instruments that possess the ingenuity of man, we can certainly discover ways to meet and solve the interracial problem.

As Dr. Gunnar Myrdal of Sweden wrote in *An American Dilemma* after five years of study for the Carnegie Foundation which produced one of the most important works in American history:

"In this issue (of reaching the American creed and ideal of democracy) the Negro problem is not only America's greatest failure but also America's incomparably greatest opportunity for the future. America can demonstrate that justice, equality, and co-operation are possible between white and colored people."

With vision and determination, Dallas can meet the situation facing it while the problem still is susceptible to proper treatment and before it becomes the acute emergency such as faces many other cities.

Undiscriminating Segregation

As a native Texan with Confederate antecedents, I have a Texan's viewpoint of the Negro situation. I think it will be many years before segregation is elimi-

nated—if ever. Much depends on the Negro himself. But we should strive to keep segregation from meaning discrimination, which cannot but breed discontent and strife.

America takes immigrants, turns them into citizens and gives them all the tremendous advantages the country has to offer. But too often it refuses these same things to Negroes with antecedents having hundreds of years of American citizenship. Surely we can help the Negro to become a better citizen with the same thoughtfulness we offer aid to immigrants—some of whom remain here for many years and never even take the trouble to learn the English language.

If this series has stirred thought and discussion that will be helpful in approaching the Negro problem from a common-sense and just viewpoint, it will have served its purpose. We all need to give this problem more study. We will lose an opportunity if we don't.

Remember the Chinese word for Crisis—Danger and Opportunity.

Remember, too, the statement of Raymond Hatcher, the Detroit Negro: "Detroit would not have had its riot and trouble if Detroit had started thinking about its problems twenty-five years ago. Detroit waited until trouble was upon the city before it started thinking about the causes and remedies."

We do not want Detroit's situation in Dallas a quarter century hence.

Meeting of the SRC Board

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Mitchell, Mr. Philip Shulhafer, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Dr. Forrester B. Washington, Miss Josephine Wilkins; *Kentucky*, Dr. E. A. McDowell; *Louisiana*, Dr. A. W. Dent, Miss Florence Sytz; *Mississippi*, Mr. F. C. Willcoxon; *North Carolina*, Dr. Will W. Alexander, Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Dr. Clark Foreman, Dr. N. C. Newbold, Dr. Harold L. Trigg, Dr. Howard W. Odum; *Tennessee*, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Dr. James L. Robb; *Virginia*, Mr. Wilson M. Brown, Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, Mr. Edmund N. Preston, Dr. P. B. Young.

Mayor of Durham Appoints Interracial Committee

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do all in its power to further interracial cooperation and good will.

"It is our opinion that improved relationships between the Negro and white races are necessary to the continued progress of our community. We feel that tensions may be eliminated, or certainly greatly lessened, by a sane approach to interracial problems by both races, and that such a commission should be appointed by you, who as Mayor represent the entire citizenry of Durham . . ."

Ten citizens prominent in civic affairs circulated the petition and secured signatures.